1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

[621] dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two
[592] wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in
[154] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By
[564] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of
[595] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son.
[586] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the house-
hold. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young
[564] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the
[191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin
[595] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no
children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a
three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin Eng-
lish. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no chil-
dren.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house
shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat
(household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year
[591] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who
[564] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has
[727] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one
[595] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma.
There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[154] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household
[759] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties,
who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his
wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and
Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and
[736] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his
[184] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur,
was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's
wife.

[165] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is
the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who
[759] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly
cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of
Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son
Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos,
a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 1]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

[P. 24]

CHAPTER II

INFANCY

834 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [575] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [154] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[3]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.

[364] [4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.

[754] [5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[3] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [3] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

867 264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 859 261 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed
582 against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed
• [754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re-
[158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal*
[602] *uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

• [754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[28]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[28] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives. 882 836 584 602 578

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed. 882 721 648 609

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects. 882 562 [224] [881] [781]

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so. [754]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

761 take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer
• 754 will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the
[648] next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was
[764] hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited
[123] voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[38] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

602 The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear
764 of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the
[765] corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[38] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

621 578 [514] [346] [648] sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example, had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another locality to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

593 578 [754] A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[20]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[20] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 627 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[31] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[32] against him or one of his relatives.

[31] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[32] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

A person is seldom, if ever, convicted of sorcery. I am reasonably certain that there were many fewer occasions on which sorcery was actually practiced than there were cases of sickness and death attributed to this cause. I was unable to discover anyone who would admit to having practiced sorcery, and the Kwoma themselves were unable to convict any sorcerer during my stay, despite their constant efforts to do so. This evidence should not, of course, be taken as proof that men never practice sorcery, but as indicating the probability that they rarely do so.

Mar's nervous breakdown illustrates how sorcery works from the point of view of the person sorcerized and how it may be used as an explanation for neurotic anxiety. One evening shortly after Mar began his courtship of Aya we heard him exchanging shouts with someone down the mountainside. Later he came to my house and told me that he had been arguing with Waramus. The latter had discovered that Mar wanted to marry Aya and had shouted: "You stay away from my daughter; you are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry a lazy person like you, and one who is her relative, too?" When Mar had told me this, he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater?" I reassured him. He then bit his underlip, raised his hand, and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, "That damned Waramus! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." I asked, "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" and he replied, "It is too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow."

Mar did not carry out his threat, nor did he make any move to see Aya for the next few days. A week later he went with several of his *brothers* and *sisters* and his betrothed to work on their garden. Three days later Fit came running back from the garden and told us that Mar was dying. He said that Mar had had a nightmare the previous night and that his father's ghost had appeared and tried to take his soul away. We took some medicine and went back to the garden with Fit and Wof, who had also been told of Mar's sickness. When we arrived at Mar's bush house, he was moan-

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

159 ing on his bark slab bed. He seemed unable to talk and could
• 754 only groan inarticulately. We took his temperature and
[129] found that it was normal. When we asked him where the pain was, he shook his head, refusing to answer. Wof then diagnosed the sickness as the result of sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies, he dies, that's all." This elicited a groan from Mar. We told him that we had some very strong medicine which would counteract sorcery, at which he lifted his head and looked at us with a doglike expression and then took the Eno's salts which we gave him. We suggested that he go home, for the bush house was damp and lonely, but he groaned and shook his head at this suggestion, indicating that he could not make it. Wof then gathered some nettle leaves, formed them into a cone, into which he muttered a prayer, and then rubbed them over Mar's chest and belly. This made Mar gasp and come out of his lethargy enough to mumble that he believed Waramus was sorcerizing him for courting Aya. We finally raised him to his feet. Leaning heavily on us, he swayed and staggered but was able to walk. As the trip progressed, he seemed to become stronger and for the last part of the journey walked unaided, but when we arrived at his home he fell groaning on his bed, where he stayed for two days without speaking. Wof meanwhile approached Waramus, who denied that he had sorcerized Mar, but said that he still did not want him to court his daughter.

Mar did not leave his house for over a week, gradually recovering his voice and his strength. He believed that Waramus had sorcerized him but had stopped after being accused by Wof, and that this had saved his life. Waramus denied Wof's accusation, and as far as I was able to determine his denial was truthful. The case would have progressed in much the same way, however, whether he had done so or not. Thus it is evident that sorcery functions as an explanation for sickness and that accusations are made against persons who are feared, and finally that the actual performance of black magic is not pertinent.[33]

[787] [33] The fact that Mar had a nightmare in which his father's ghost attempted to take his soul suggests that his sickness may have been due to

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use 754 •
the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death re- 761
peatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of 754
magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives [203]
tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have [177]
worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus. [787 159]

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride-price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[19]

The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mixture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or near-by households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[19] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother*
[601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is
[881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though
[574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite
[574] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos
[765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to
[764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476] 602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

maternal uncle, her *paternal aunt*, her *sisters*, and her *friends*.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the cooperative endeavors of non-relatives[*] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[*] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[36] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[37]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[36] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[37] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13. Kwoma OJ13

ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

121 869 776 big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

121 869 153 795 Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

121 869 754 153 [192] [196] Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

121 869 826 153 [196] [292] A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the possessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing. In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed person, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus, exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to extinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
[202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at which accusations are made and denied and evidence is presented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who have no better theory of disease and no more effective methods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the supposed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [595] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife [597] Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [154] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [305] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [177] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [13] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

123 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While
114 it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangus and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
582 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly
"savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its
[754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein
as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up,
[123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping ahold
of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation
in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the
[754] "kiop" and have him put in the calabouse. They said the dead man had been
poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned
me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at
it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying
[417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably
[602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

764 [415] Next a bamboo filled with water (the usual method of carrying water) was carried up the ladder by Afalowanj, an old man; he was assisted by two other men in washing the body. Meanwhile the "savvy talks" broke the points of two spears formerly belonging to the deceased. These were passed up the ladder to the cubicle and lashed crossways over the body. The arms and legs of the body were lashed to the floor, and the burial was complete. The undertakers climbed down the ladder and went off to wash, saying that they would meet me at the house tamberan, where sortly[1] thereafter the gong tolled. As I was leaving, I heard one of the women inside of the house sobbing instead of wailing in the patterned manner.

754 Wof and some others were already at the house tamberan when I arrived. Later some of those who had officiated at the funeral came. The conversation once again turned to poison. Kwonai described the process by which he considered the men to have been killed. The group had calmed down considerably and now discussed the affair much more matter-of-factly than they had previously. They were still bitter toward the perpetrator of the deed and seemed to be afraid for their own safety. Kwonai told me someone had stolen a bit of food which the deceased had carelessly thrown away; the evil doer had then carried it to Koriyasi, who had performed a magical rite on it. They had put the leavings in a tall narrow pot, filled it half full of water, and let it boil away until only the sediment of the food remains were left. A bamboo of cold water was then poured into the pot and on the fire. That is followed by an explosion of steam. The food disappears, and soon afterward the man died.

114 October 28-Nov. 9, 1936. A week ago Friday, October 30, Tip and I went in to Ambunti to spend the weekend for the sake of a holiday. Bob Overall had brought the mail up the river that morning, so we were greeted with a very welcome packet of letters. George and Max (a medical assistant

[1] [i.e., shortly-analyst]

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bangus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754 gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot
[796] of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

123 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These
955 he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a micro-
phone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders
to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was
that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed
from behind; thus we started back. His dependance on our assistance de-
creased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off gambo.

954 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is
753 interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waramus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waramus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbiman. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness.
[123] Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the
cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nowi which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also
connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only
after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture
is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[82] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of
aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy
existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill
them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time.
In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks,
waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder,
lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are
[794] disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated
are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of
the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and
others we have not.

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
177 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hmub who took it to its mother.

124 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and
754 went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of
593 the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry,
562 they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are
[591] needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted
[241] here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them,
[423] needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, Hay, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was
[443] better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hmub went down and found
[685] his canoe has been smashed by Brugmwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's nareuboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

231 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite
123 a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the
114 pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>sugiliwas</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Mamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

254 Later Yat came up and said that Sum was all right. Someone had
648 admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat
464 and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosek said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall cons, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see us and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerized along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kum up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marck's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Kwal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals; his older brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about
464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tulcul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before
[593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that
754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Owiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Owiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Soon thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun meri" was dying and they were calling her relatives

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked Mey if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to Mey, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerise him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Nemb, went up and greeted Nemb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump Mey, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[857] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimuwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Haymakwo men and Mar' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the 'sac sac' (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yet obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in
diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[481] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[313] garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabunkura. A log was cut to the
[284] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of
[483] the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

578 been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed
[123] up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not
feel like working.

527 Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what
262 they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to
[754] discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mes and
[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
[252] they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they
had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and
[415] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold
[252] it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When
the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and
boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with
[123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the
soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he
[123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I
helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me
to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach
was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed
that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayames (a big man of Afokalies)
got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been
poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sownambi's (kinship term) and I will fight
anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground
[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before
the white man (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a
spear.

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayanakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Wey, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayanakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for [593] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't

648 721 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Awiyamps and Dowari and Mawandaye had broken it and

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[578] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandayn has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Haymakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of Wer's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Kwai was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, May, Mar, Asenampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Mase's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

114 [224] near Mar's. He was building a bannis (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mas cut it up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific. We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which were at Mar's. We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa was teaching Mar and Mas. He was very patient with them. He would sing out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mas slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa on the other. This morning Pokadaya left early. Mar, Mas and I had breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back to the house. Mas took a short trip and came back with a bunch of bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mas is his nephew, it is all right. We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai. Awambaku and Apinoku came to help carry my bed back, and we returned. Pokatayu and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

[754] Yamangamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to Wisop's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to the house tamberan to find Wof, Marok et al there. They came out and claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out for poison. (Mamb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night. They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from 754 Wenyabaukwa this evening. They were making the rounds of Hongwan, getting 755

754 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does
755 not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this,
the sick person will recover.

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelegu alone. He held one spear poised in
[411] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelegus saw him
coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind.
[231] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to
[431] do with Asenumpa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was.
War told him to give him some 'tambu' too, which he did, and War returned.
War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--
Mar, Kumb, Mes, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road
to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two
center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there
were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two
were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Heyamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking
ground. Kar was washing sago.

518 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Pit has returned. May
says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother polo man".
Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from
578 Wenyambenkura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They
had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of
the day was that since there were no Heyamakwa present, it was they who were
responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on
Mamoy to fight, but Mamoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing
[648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and Mey. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awa giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Gwiyap. Awa and Kwiya were there. Gwiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Gwiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Gwiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), Mar, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

857 752 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit. About 5:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefic, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 Hay, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. 484 [628] There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwama were helping to carry their cargo.

602 571 April 3, 1937: If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now 754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc, from him. His son is also removed from the [601] relationship. He will no longer call them mem but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 262 [251] Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 602 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Fokutay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbim calling with a new gong--do you hear me?" and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. War called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. War said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Namb and Namaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

000 is sold to us. When the Tangwishamp bring fayembi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Wer, Waremus, Wey, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga kafaamreni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Fit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Omwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambanj.

752 Knos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harapa ma meyaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbina were there. The

123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Urambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mwoni at Sow's.

584 754 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true" -- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to call her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Mas would get Owanta in exchange. Yatamanj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Dowa and Afa would get Uka's.

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Cuiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>sawuto waani</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fala more" --they had carried Mey's pig and Mamok's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouris pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my <u>laka</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

[754]

241 Kwiya has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Korissi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aya. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aya; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Korissi whom he 'marked' a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Yawa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik in brok im". If she goes to break sago, she buts a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aya, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombundure. Fokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Owanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Owanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa"nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Owanta. She did not come last night. War, May and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent May in search for him. Chinawo and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and May searched in vain but came back after a short while.

754 May and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tangwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and so were suspected.

Rwel and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Rwel and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (sugilewas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwom, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mer and Mes had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Mes' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overall.

123 685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left May in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Ovivap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. May first accused Kis, but War exonerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Sombundura and had come back after I had returned.

November 29, 1936.

*115 [584] [123] A week or so ago Gwiyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 123 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiancee and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where [754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, Mar sent Fit for nettle leaves. These he got and Mar arranged them in a sort of cone, held them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or exortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. Mar then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

*115 123 755

*115 unsuccessfully to get from me.
[123]

*115 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get
583 some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a
[587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
[464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers
[583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
[476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Hamb, May and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
[154] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later
[241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No, I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went. February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Waya, his fiancee. He replied that she was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either. March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion. As we approached the house Mar called out for Mes who was not there. Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowe was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaramanu. When her husband died she went to live with Yat. He went to work for the whites and Dagwuur took care of her. One day she went to get firewood and Dagwuur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mes.—analyst]

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mee has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mee (Mar has been joking with Mee alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yewa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinuwa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Nay and Pit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
787 of the mountain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
602 He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get
753 it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 When Nar, Afok , Pokotay, Dewangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Nar and
[754] Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
156 on a neighboring tribe. I asked Nar if he were going with them and he said,
[648] "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 Again Nar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbvi, Gwanta
584 and Fambe to get Mes' sister, Aye, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
[123] Nar will meet them there and take Aye to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again War if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aye's idea.

*115 After supper Yat, Nar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Nar it
582 was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood, Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

•[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Oriyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.